/17 cont./

868 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

868 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as
857 along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
231 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, as the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefts, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controlled" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of

1. An artificial well.

water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

857 462 231 /44 cont./ an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

857 462 224 2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative [531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/212 cont./

423 425 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

●231 423 Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

/213 cont./

231 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings
423 continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions
312 where water was scarce during the summer, the community would
423 dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought
231 during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and
423 dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate
361 from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
425 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
178 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

[22 cont.]
of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman. As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 783 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

[262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

[513] 5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of [995] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually [231] alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 604 183 431 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's eldest son. All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 431 604 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia, and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings, — two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. [556] Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware [231] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives [422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

7iBollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint.

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast.

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope.

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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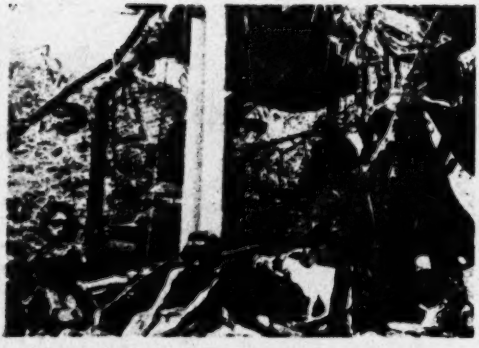

Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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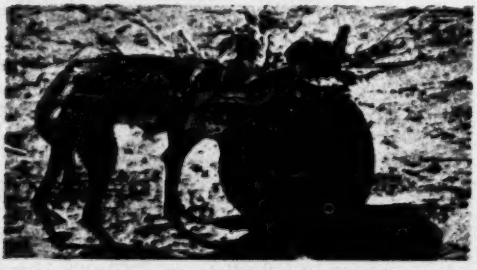

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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492

[Facing p. 81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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854 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the [262] children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were 604 then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, 855 but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The 868 first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

231 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the 857 household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to [602] work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets.

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.'

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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796 786 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 842 524 When young people are gathered together as during the dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

796 524 One of the games depicts a meeting between the lowlanders and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the lowlanders have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

[423] [231]

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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is considered dangerous, spreading, as it flies over the hut, bronchitis and coughs, which in the first place attack the children. A child's illness is often ascribed to something that happened to the mother during pregnancy. If a child gets a pain in its stomach, the wise woman may say that this is because a spirit ate some of the mother's food before the child was born. To deal with this, duck feathers are burned and the child's behind smeared with ash. In other circumstances it is because a fox has nosed at something the mother subsequently ate. In that case a fox has to be killed and the child given some of its grilled meat, at the same time as the child's behind is rubbed with burned fox-bone. The child will get quite better—if the old woman is right and it was a fox. These women are quacks even in the Indians' eyes, and yet they turn to them first.

If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress, torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep the spirit frees itself and learns things of which it knows nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experiences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and an animal being butchered means that a person of the same age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

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Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and furrowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor brute that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold, American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Customs nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

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[facing p. 176]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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THE GOAJIRO

By JOHN M. ARMSTRONG AND ALFRED MÉTRAUX

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising.

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12).

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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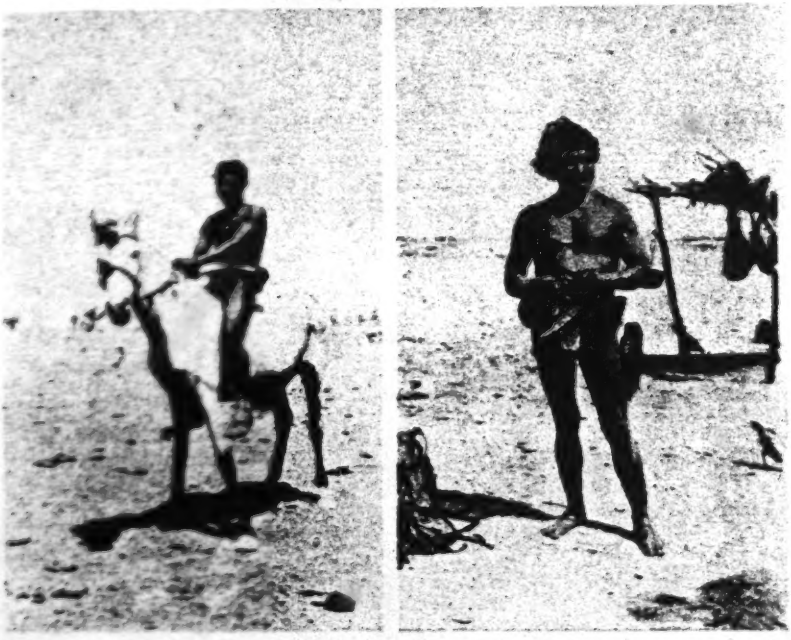

PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[Facing p. 380]

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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114 614 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assurance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse- 178 614 quent conversation with still other women it became clear that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans [212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his 614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it. 212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a 422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock, 231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns. Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/ the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

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614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231 In a way also customary among us (for example, the
422 burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol
in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal
with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a
finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand,
made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly
set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

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171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

797 131 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

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614 212 773 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash, and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish [212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the 614 212 773 825 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia). He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 212 773 [230] Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property [422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 212 773 825 422 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This happened for the following reason: these animals were to have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which